

Original FOIA Number: 1998-0099-F

2nd FOIA Number: 2003-0255-F

3rd FOIA Number:

4th FOIA Number:

5th FOIA Number:

FOIA MARKER

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| Office: | Records Management, White House Office of (WHORM) |
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WHORM Category Code: CO001-07
WHORM Category Name: Middle East

Document Number: 279177
Alpha File Name:

7711

ID# 279177

C0001-07

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: OCTOBER 18, 1991

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE ABRAHAM D. SOFAER

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES A COPY OF HIS REMARKS, "THE PEACE
PROCESS AFTER THE GULF WAR", GIVEN AT THE
91 CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN SEPHARDI
FEDERATION, AND ALSO EXPRESSES SUPPORT

| ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY | (STAFF NAME) | ACTION | | DISPOSITION | |
|----------------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| | | ACT CODE | DATE YY/MM/DD | TYPE RESP | C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD |
| BRENT SCOWCROFT | | ORG | 91/10/18 | BS | A9110126 |
| REFERRAL NOTE: | See ID 276677 | | | | |
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COMMENTS: ORIGINAL TO NANCY NANCY MENAN
FORMER LEGAL ADVISOR AT DOS

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1131 4630 _____
MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                       *                       *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *           OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED        *           CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED        *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                       *           OUTGOING *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                       *                       *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                       *                       *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                       *                       *
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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 26, 1991

Dear Abe:

Thanks for your recent notes to the President and me and for sending a copy of your remarks to the 1991 Convention of the American Sephardi Federation. As usual, what you have to say is thoughtful. I also much appreciate the spirit in which your words were intended. Where we disagree, all I can say is that we are trying to pursue multiple humanitarian goals simultaneously, and it is not always possible to do so without making choices and establishing priorities. With luck and more than a little hard work, Madrid will begin a process that with time will make the Middle East a much improved place for everyone.

Thanks again for writing, and all the best.

Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

The Honorable
Abraham D. Sofaer
Hughes, Hubbard & Reed
1300 I Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20005-3306

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9107711
RECEIVED: 18 OCT 91 15

TO: SOFAER, ABRAHAM D

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 26 OCT 91
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: ISRAEL
MP

MIDDLE EAST

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO SOFAER LTR RE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 22 OCT 91

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
HAASS
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY ALW DATE 10/28 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJWF

CLOSED BY: NSALW

DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 HAASS
002 SCOWCROFT
003
004

Z 91101815 DRAFT REPLY FOR PRES SIG
Z 91102415 FOR SIGNATURE
X 91102807 SCOWCROFT SGD LTR
X 91102807 SCOWCROFT SGD LTR

Response to Stu Eisenstadt
National Security Council & *Abraham*
The White House *Sofaer*

PROOFED BY: WEA LOG # 7711

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG NT A/O _____

| | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN | DISPOSITION |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>WEA</i> Ken Hill | <u>1</u> | <u>MW 10/24</u> | <u>A</u> |
| Bill Sittmann | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Bob Gates | <u>2</u> | <u>[Signature]</u> | _____ |
| Brent Scowcroft | <u>3</u> | _____ | _____ |
| Bill Sittmann | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Situation Room | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| West Wing Desk | <u>4</u> | <u>ALW 10/28</u> | <u>D</u> |
| NSC Secretariat | <u>5</u> | <u>ALW 10/28</u> | <u>D</u> |

91 OCT 24 P 3. 11

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Sununu Other _____

Should be seen by: _____ (Date/Time)

COMMENTS

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

10 FEB 19 100 AS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Date 10-18-91

TO: HAASS

NSC Secretariat has requested us to check with you to see whether you want the attached sent to you for staffing, to State Dept., or other agencies for draft reply.

Please indicate:

- _____ For Action
- _____ Refer to State Dept. or other agencies for Draft Reply
- _____ Other

Ralph Bellamy

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

7711

October 22, 1991

*Brent
should be signed
before Madrid.* (RNH)

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: RICHARD N. HAASS (RNH)

SUBJECT: Response to Stuart Eizenstat and Abraham Sofaer

Stuart Eizenstadt wrote the President October 1 to explain his public opposition to the 120 day loan deferrment to Israel. He also sent along a copy of his recent Foreign Policy article. I have drafted a reponse from you to him at Tab A.

Abe Sofaer wrote to you and the President, passing along a copy of his recent remarks on the Middle East peace process and US-Israel relations at the Convention of the American Sephardi Federation. I have drafted a response from you to him at Tab B.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter to Stuart Eizenstat at Tab A and the letter to Abraham Sofaer at Tab B.

Attachment

- Tab A Letter to Stuart Eisenstat
- Tab B Letter to Abe Sofaer
- Tab C Letter from Stuart Eisenstat to the President
- Tab D Letter and speech from Abe Sofaer to the President
- Tab E Letter and speech from Abe Sofaer to General Scowcroft

814D
NSC



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7711

Hughes Hubbard & Reed
1300 I Street, N.W.
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213-489-5140

801 BRICKELL AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131
305-358-1666

ABRAHAM D. SOFAER
202-408-3700

October 14, 1991

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a recent effort concerning the Middle East peace process. As you might imagine, I have some concerns about recent decisions. On the other hand, I strongly admire and support the current effort and your overall commitment to Israel's security.

Warm regards to you and Barbara.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

Hughes Hubbard & Reed

1300 I Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20005-3306

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October 14, 1991

The Honorable Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Brent:

Enclosed is a recent effort concerning the Middle East
peace process. I hope you find it useful.

I am enjoying private practice but I miss the
thoughtful, though too infrequent, sessions we had together.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Enclosure

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Comments:

THE PEACE PROCESS

AFTER

THE GULF WAR

REMARKS OF

ABRAHAM D. SOFAER

AT THE

1991 CONVENTION OF THE

AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION

IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

OCTOBER 15, 1991

PRESIDENT NESSIM GAON AND CHAIRMAN

ALBERTO NASSER OF THE WORLD SEPHARDI FEDERATION;
CHAIRMAN ED ALCOSSER AND PRESIDENT LEON LEVY OF
THE AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION; HONORED GUESTS
AND FRIENDS. WE ARE IN LOS ANGELES, FOR THE FIFTH
CONSECUTIVE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN
SEPHARDI FEDERATION. THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE
ATTENDED. THE ORGANIZATION NOW REACHES OUT TO
OVER 20,000 SEPHARDI FAMILIES IN THIS COUNTRY.

WE SEPHARDIM ARE PROUD OF OUR HERITAGE,
PROUD OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND EAGER
FOR PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EASTERN
NATIONS IN WHICH MANY OF OUR FOREFATHERS LIVED FOR
HUNDREDS OF YEARS, AND TO WHICH WE ARE BOUND BY
DEEP CULTURAL TIES.

THE PEACE PROCESS IS TODAY IN A
DRAMATICALLY DIFFERENT STATE FROM THE SITUATION

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE GULF WAR. AT THAT TIME, THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAD ACCEPTED THE SHAMIR PLAN IN THEORY, BUT WAS IGNORING THREE OF ITS FOUR ELEMENTS IN PRACTICE. THE U.S. HAD DONE NOTHING TO ENCOURAGE "A COMMON ENDEAVOR FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PEACE [BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT] AND FOR ITS EXTENSION"; OR TOWARD "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS" WITH "THOSE ARAB STATES WHICH STILL MAINTAIN A STATE OF WAR" WITH ISRAEL, INCLUDING THE CESSATION OF HOSTILE ACTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL FORA; OR TO IMPROVE THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF ARAB REFUGEES. OUR ENTIRE FOCUS THEN WAS ON THAT ASPECT OF THE SHAMIR PLAN WHICH CALLED FOR A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS.

ONE REASON FOR OUR FOCUS ON GETTING ISRAEL TO THE TABLE WITH PALESTINIANS IS EASY TO

UNDERSTAND: ANY SUCH MEETING WOULD BE AN
IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH, INCREASING THE CHANCES
THAT THE PARTIES WOULD GO ON TO NEGOTIATE THE
ISSUES THAT DIVIDE THEM. BUT THIS OBJECTIVE HAS
BEEN THE CENTRAL AIM OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY FOR
ANOTHER REASON. THE ARAB STATES, WITH THE
EXCEPTION OF EGYPT, HAVE FOR YEARS RESISTED MAKING
ANY CONCESSIONS TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY ON THE GROUND
THAT ISRAEL REALLY HAS NOTHING TO WORRY ABOUT, AND
THAT ONCE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IS SOLVED
EVERYTHING ELSE WILL BE SOLVED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY.
OUR STATE DEPARTMENT HAS FOR YEARS ACCEPTED THIS
LINE, AND AS A RESULT HAS DONE VIRTUALLY NOTHING TO
PRESSURE ARAB STATES INTO NORMALIZING RELATIONS
WITH ISRAEL, FOCUSING INSTEAD ON THE PALESTINIAN
PROBLEM. ISRAEL, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS
CONSISTENTLY ARGUED THAT ITS FEAR OF THE ARAB

CONFRONTATION STATES IS REAL, THAT THEY HATE AND WANT TO DESTROY ISRAEL, AND THAT EVIDENCE OF THEIR READINESS TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ISRAEL IS AS NECESSARY AS ISRAEL/PALESTINIAN DISCUSSIONS FOR A MEANINGFUL PEACE PROCESS .

THE GULF WAR DEMONSTRATED THAT ISRAEL WAS RIGHT ON THIS CRITICAL ISSUE, AND THAT THE US WAS WRONG. IF IRAQ WOULD DESTROY ITS BROTHER ARABS, LOOT AND SET AFIRE THEIR WEALTH, CONTAMINATE THEIR WATERS, IT IS CLEAR WHAT IRAQ WOULD DO TO ITS SWORN ENEMY, ISRAEL. AND HOW CLOSE WE WERE TO DISASTER. SADDAM ATTACKED ISRAEL WITHOUT PROVOCATION, WITH MISSILES WHICH COULD HAVE CARRIED NUCLEAR DEVICES BUT FOR ISRAEL'S ATTACK ON HIS NUCLEAR PROGRAM TEN YEARS AGO. IT WAS A PARTICULARLY CHILLING DOSE OF REALITY TO WATCH PALESTINIANS CHEER AS SCUDS FELL INDISCRIMINATELY ON CIVILIAN AREAS, WITHIN ISRAEL,

AND TO HEAR SAUDI AND KUWAITI LEADERS SAY THEY WOULD RATHER BE DESTROYED THAN FIGHT ALONGSIDE ISRAEL. PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY BAKER DID NOT MISS THE OBVIOUS LESSON: ARAB HOSTILITY TOWARD ISRAEL IS AS PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR BELIEVES, NOT AS AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HAVE ASSUMED.

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS AFTER THE WAR IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO ITS DECISION TO IMPLEMENT THAT ASPECT OF THE SHAMIR PLAN THAT CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB ENEMIES. AMERICAN DIPLOMATS ANNOUNCED THIS POLICY SHIFT AS THE "TWO TRACK" APPROACH, AND SECRETARY BAKER WENT TO WORK IN EARNEST. WHEN THE GULF WAR ENDED HE HAD NEVER BEEN TO ISRAEL. TODAY, HE IS ON HIS WAY THERE FOR THE EIGHTH TIME. HE HAS ALREADY OBTAINED COMMITMENTS FROM EGYPT, ISRAEL, JORDAN, LEBANON,

SYRIA, AND KEY PALESTINIAN LEADERS TO JOIN THE PEACE
PROCESS. AND HE HAS REDESIGNED THAT PROCESS SO
THAT IT NOW REFLECTS MIDDLE EASTERN REALITIES:

- O FIRST, AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING HOSTED BY
THE US AND USSR WILL BLESS THE PROCESS AND
TURN IT OVER TO THE PARTIES;
- O BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL THEN COMMENCE
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, ISRAEL AND
LEBANON, AND ISRAEL AND JORDAN, WHICH WILL
BE ACCOMPANIED BY A PALESTINIAN DELEGATION;
AND
- O ISRAEL WILL ALSO BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN
TALKS WITH MANY ARAB STATES WITH WHOM IT
HAS NO PRESENT RELATIONS ON SUCH REGIONAL
ISSUES AS ARMS CONTROL AND WATER.

THIS AGENDA IS A GREAT IMPROVEMENT OVER THE APPROACH THAT WOULD INITIALLY HAVE FOCUSED EXCLUSIVELY ON THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.

OF COURSE, GRAVE AND COMPLEX DIFFICULTIES REMAIN UNRESOLVED, ESPECIALLY FORMING THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION. BUT THE LONG HERALDED MEETING BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS IS CLOSER THAN EVER, LARGELY BECAUSE SECRETARY BAKER BROADENED THE PROCESS TO REFLECT A MORE REALISTIC CONCERN FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

DESPITE THIS REMARKABLE PROGRESS, A DEEP-SEATED UNEASE PERMEATES THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE ISRAEL/U.S. RELATIONSHIP. THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN POSITIONS DIFFERENT FROM ISRAEL'S, EVEN ON IMPORTANT ISSUES, IS NOT WHAT CAUSES THIS CONCERN. THE ISRAEL/U.S. RELATIONSHIP CAN ENDURE SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES.

RATHER, I SEE THIS CONCERN AS RESULTING FROM THE NATURE OF THE DIFFERENCES INVOLVED, AND THE SENSE THAT THEY STEM FROM A LACK OF REGARD BY THE US FOR MORAL PRINCIPLE. THE NOTION THAT ISRAEL HAD STRATEGIC VALUE TO THE US IN ITS COMPETITION WITH THE USSR IS NO LONGER AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION. ISRAEL'S CLAIM TO AMERICAN SUPPORT NOW RESTS ON PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL MORALITY: A COMMON COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM AND TO JUDEO/CHRISTIAN VALUES. THEREFORE, IF US POLICY CONCERNING THE MIDDLE EAST IS TO BE FORMED WITHOUT REGARD FOR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL MORALITY, ISRAEL IS IN DEEP TROUBLE. PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS IN SUCH A CONTEXT, RATHER THAN BEING A BLESSING, WILL BE REGARDED AS A POTENTIAL THREAT TO ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL.

THE MOST TROUBLING INCIDENTS ALL SEEM TO REFLECT A DESIRE BY THE US TO ACHIEVE SOME PROPER OBJECTIVE, BUT AT AN UNACCEPTABLE PRICE. THUS:

- O WHILE ALL OF US SHARE THE PRESIDENT'S DESIRE TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF WESTERN HOSTAGES IN LEBANON, IT IS WRONG TO EQUATE THEM WITH SHIA AND PALESTINIAN PRISONERS WHO ARE EITHER SOLDIERS OR TERRORISTS;
- O WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT ISRAEL CAN JUSTLY BE CRITICIZED FOR USING EXCESSIVE FORCE, THE TEMPLE MOUNT RESOLUTION SHOULD HAVE BEEN VETOED BECAUSE IT FAILED TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE, REFLECTING THE DISGRACEFUL FACT THAT THE UN HAS NEVER CONDEMNED PALESTINIAN TERROR;
- O WHILE PRESIDENT BUSH IS ENTITLED TO HIS VIEW THAT ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED

TERRITORIES ARE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE, THIS POSITION DOES NOT JUSTIFY THE DENIAL OR DELAY OF DESPERATELY NEEDED HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

O AND WHILE THE PRESIDENT CAN PROPERLY DELAY LOAN GUARANTEES IF HE BELIEVES THEY WOULD DISRUPT THE PEACE PROCESS, HE IS WRONG TO HAVE SUGGESTED, IN FIGHTING FOR THIS OBJECTIVE, THAT JEWS ARE SOMEHOW BEHAVING IMPROPERLY IN SEEKING AMERICA'S ASSISTANCE IN SETTLING OUR SOVIET AND ETHIOPIAN BRETHREN IN ISRAEL.

I HAVE TAKEN CARE TO SPELL OUT THESE CONCERNS, BECAUSE THEY ARE IMPORTANT. WE MUST PRESS THIS ADMINISTRATION TO BE PRINCIPLED IN DEALING WITH ISRAEL, BECAUSE THE US IS ULTIMATELY ISRAEL'S

BEST HOPE FOR FAIR TREATMENT. BUT THESE CONCERNS MUST ALSO BE KEPT IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. PRESIDENT BUSH AND HIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE DONE GREAT THINGS FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND FOR ISRAEL WHICH WE WOULD BE UNFAIR AND UNWISE TO FORGET. AMONG THESE ARE ACTIONS THAT CAN ONLY REFLECT A DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL OF JEWS AND THE WELL BEING OF ISRAEL.

O AS VICE PRESIDENT, GEORGE BUSH PERSONALLY LED AN EFFORT TO SAVE THOUSANDS OF ETHIOPIAN JEWS, AND HE AGAIN PLAYED A CRITICAL ROLE AS PRESIDENT IN CONVINCING ETHIOPIA TO FREE OVER 14,000 MORE.

O HE HAS DONE A MAGNIFICENT JOB IN OBTAINING FREEDOM TO EMIGRATE FOR HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SOVIET JEWS AND FREEDOM TO PRACTICE JUDAISM FOR THE MILLIONS THAT STILL REMAIN.

- O HE HAS CONTINUED THE POLICY OF PRIOR REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS BY INCREASING AID TO ISRAEL, INCLUDING SPECIAL PAYMENTS OF \$650 MILLION AFTER THE GULF WAR AND OF \$450 MILLION IN LOAN GUARANTEES.
- O HE HAS KEPT IN PLACE THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE DEVELOPED OVER THE YEARS TO ENHANCE US/ISRAELI COOPERATION, INCLUDING A JOINT PROGRAM FOR MISSILE DEFENCE.
- O HE IS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO USE AMERICAN FORCES IN THE PHYSICAL DEFENCE OF ISRAEL, BY RUSHING PATRIOT MISSILES THERE IN RESPONSE TO IRAQ'S SCUD ATTACKS.
- O HE IS ALSO THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO CALL FOR FORMAL REPEAL OF THE DESPICABLE RESOLUTION EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM, AND THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS PUSHED TO CONVINCe THE

SOVIET UNION TO NORMALIZE ITS RELATIONS
WITH THE JEWISH STATE.

O FINALLY, HIS DETERMINATION IN CONFRONTING
AND DEFEATING IRAQ, ISRAEL'S PRINCIPAL
ENEMY, DESPITE THE OPPOSITION OF VIRTUALLY
EVERY JEWISH DEMOCRAT IN CONGRESS, SAVED
ISRAEL FROM THE VERY REAL THREAT OF A
FUTURE ATTACK WITH WEAPONS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION. FOR THIS ACT ALONE, THE BUSH
ADMINISTRATION DESERVES OUR MOST PROFOUND
ADMIRATION AND APPROVAL.

WE MUST ALSO KEEP IN MIND, IN EVALUATING
THIS OR ANY ADMINISTRATION, THAT WE JEWS HAVE A
TENDENCY TO OVERREACT, AS WE DID WHEN GEORGE
SHULTZ WAS NOMINATED AS SECRETARY OF STATE, WHEN
RONALD REAGAN SOLD AWACS TO THE SAUDIS, AND WHEN
HE WENT TO BITBURG. IN RETROSPECT, DESPITE THESE

CONCERNS, THE REAGAN/SHULTZ TEAM IS REMEMBERED FOR THE MANY THINGS THEY DID RIGHT, AND FOR THEIR BASIC GOOD WILL TOWARD ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE BUSH/BAKER TEAM HAS A MORE BUSINESSLIKE STYLE ON ALL ISSUES, NOT JUST ISRAEL, BUT THEIR GOOD WILL SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED.

PRESIDENT BUSH DID NOT GO TO BITBURG, HE WENT TO BABI YAR. WHAT STRUCK ME MOST IN READING WHAT HE SAID THERE ON AUGUST 1 OF THIS YEAR WAS HIS DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF WHAT HE CALLED "A RITUAL OF HUMILIATION AND DEATH." HE KNOWS THE IMPORTANCE OF RECALLING HORROR IN DETAIL, SO WE ARE FORCED TO REMEMBER. AND WHEN HE ACCEPTED THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER'S TRIBUTE FOR SAVING ETHIOPIAN JEWRY, REMEMBRANCE WAS HIS THEME. "IN MEMORY OF THE MILLIONS WHO DIED," HE SAID, "WE MUST NOT FORGET. WE MUST NOT CLOSE OUR HEARTS. WE MUST

NOT FAIL TO ACT." HE SAID SOMETHING ELSE IN THAT ADDRESS THAT FOR ME WAS MOST REVEALING. HE MADE CLEAR WHAT I STRONGLY SUSPECTED WHEN HE CONFRONTED IRAQ -- THAT HE HAD ACTED THEN WITH THE MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST, TO PREVENT A REPETITION OF THAT HORROR. ON THE BASIS OF WHAT THE INSPECTORS HAVE DISCOVERED IN IRAQ DURING THE LAST FEW WEEKS, IT IS CLEAR THAT SADDAM WAS VERY, VERY CLOSE TO BEING ABLE TO KILL JEWS BY THE MILLIONS.

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS NOT, MOREOVER, LIMITED HIS POSITIVE REMARKS CONCERNING ISRAEL TO JEWISH GROUPS. ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1991, HE WENT TO THE VERY BASTION OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE WORLD AND CALLED FOR THE REPEAL OF ITS INFAMOUS RESOLUTION. "ZIONISM" HE EXPLAINED

IS NOT A POLICY; IT IS THE IDEA THAT LED TO THE CREATION OF A HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE, TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL. AND TO EQUATE ZIONISM WITH THE INTOLERABLE SIN OF RACISM IS TO TWIST HISTORY AND FORGET THE TERRIBLE PLIGHT OF JEWS IN WORLD WAR II AND, INDEED, THROUGHOUT HISTORY. TO EQUATE ZIONISM WITH RACISM IS TO REJECT ISRAEL ITSELF -- A MEMBER OF GOOD STANDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THIS BODY CANNOT CLAIM TO SEEK PEACE AND AT THE SAME TIME CHALLENGE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. BY REPEALING THIS RESOLUTION UNCONDITIONALLY, THE UNITED NATIONS WILL ENHANCE ITS CREDIBILITY AND SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

FURTHERMORE, WE MUST BE REALISTIC ENOUGH TO NOTE THAT THIS RECORD OF EXTRAORDINARY BENEFIT TO ISRAEL AND ITS SUPPORTERS WAS COMPILED BY A LEADERSHIP THAT IS WELL AWARE OF THE APPARENTLY HOPELESS ATTACHMENT OF AMERICAN JEWS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. REPUBLICAN JEWS REMAIN A VERY SMALL MINORITY, AND JEWISH DEMOCRATS VOTE FOR REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN FAR LOWER PROPORTIONS THAN DEMOCRATS AS A WHOLE. THAT PRESIDENT BUSH HAS HELD NUMEROUS MEETINGS WITH JEWISH LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES, HAS SOUGHT THEIR ADVICE, AND HAS RESPONDED TO THEIR SUGGESTIONS, CAN ONLY BE ATTRIBUTED TO HIS GENUINE CONCERN.

FINALLY, IN JUDGING THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION, WE MUST BE HONEST ABOUT ISRAEL'S SHORTCOMINGS AS WELL. ON SEVERAL ISSUES, MOST AMERICAN JEWS STRONGLY AGREE WITH PRESIDENT BUSH'S POSITION. I

FOR ONE HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED THE PROPRIETY OF DEPORTATIONS, WHICH OCCUR WITHOUT THE SEMBLANCE OF DUE PROCESS, OR THE IMPOSITION OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT, OR THE FORCED OPENING OF STORES. THE PRESIDENT DESERVES TO FEEL THAT AMERICAN JEWS ARE PREPARED TO EXAMINE EACH ISSUE HONESTLY, AND ON THE BASIS OF THE SAME VALUES ON WHICH WE ASK THAT HE BASE HIS OWN POLICIES.

SO, WE ARE AT A CRITICAL STAGE, AND WE HAVE LEGITIMATE REASONS FOR CONCERN. BUT THE STRATEGY WE CHOOSE MUST BE EFFECTIVE, NOT MERELY SATISFYING TO OUR COLLECTIVE ANXIETIES. WE MUST RESIST EVERY DECISION OF THIS OR ANY ADMINISTRATION THAT SUBORDINATES MORAL PRINCIPLE TO POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY. BUT WE WOULD BE FOOLISH TO ACCEPT THE UNJUST CLAIMS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS ANTI-SEMITIC OR DETERMINED TO SACRIFICE ISRAEL'S

FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS TO A PRO-ARAB AGENDA. THE RECORD REFUTES SUCH CHARGES, AND WE DO ISRAEL A DISSERVICE BY INDULGING THEM. FURTHERMORE, THE PEACE PROCESS IS MOVING AS NEVER BEFORE, UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF MEN WITH EXTRAORDINARY POLITICAL ABILITY AND DRIVE. IT SERVES OUR INTERESTS AS AMERICANS AND AS SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL TO WORK AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE WITH THESE LEADERS AS THEY FORMULATE THEIR PLANS AND OBJECTIVES IN THE DAYS AHEAD. WE MUST, IN SHORT, HAVE THE COURAGE TO STAND UP FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE IS RIGHT; BUT WE MUST ALSO HAVE THE WISDOM TO ACT EFFECTIVELY.

ASPCH1